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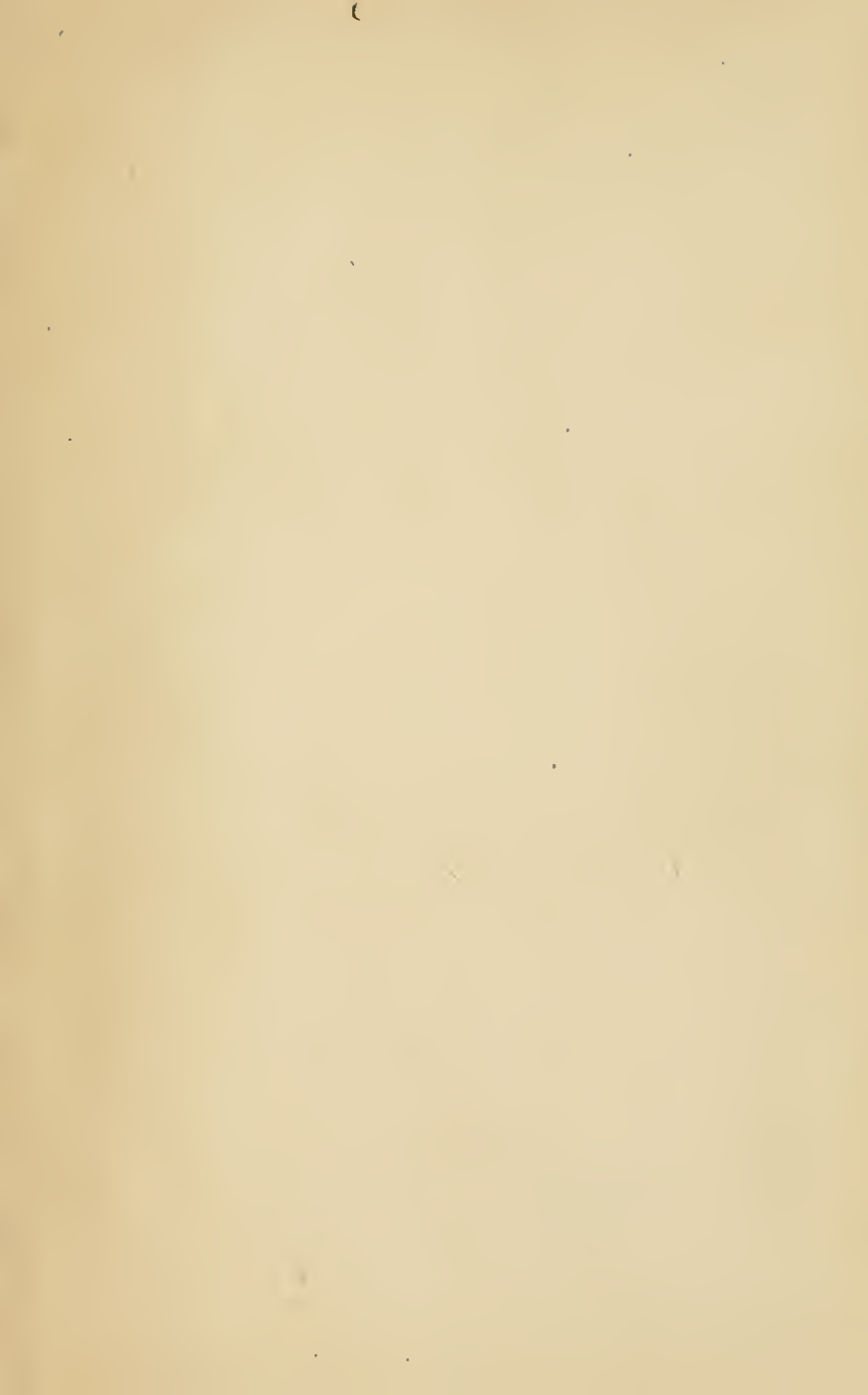
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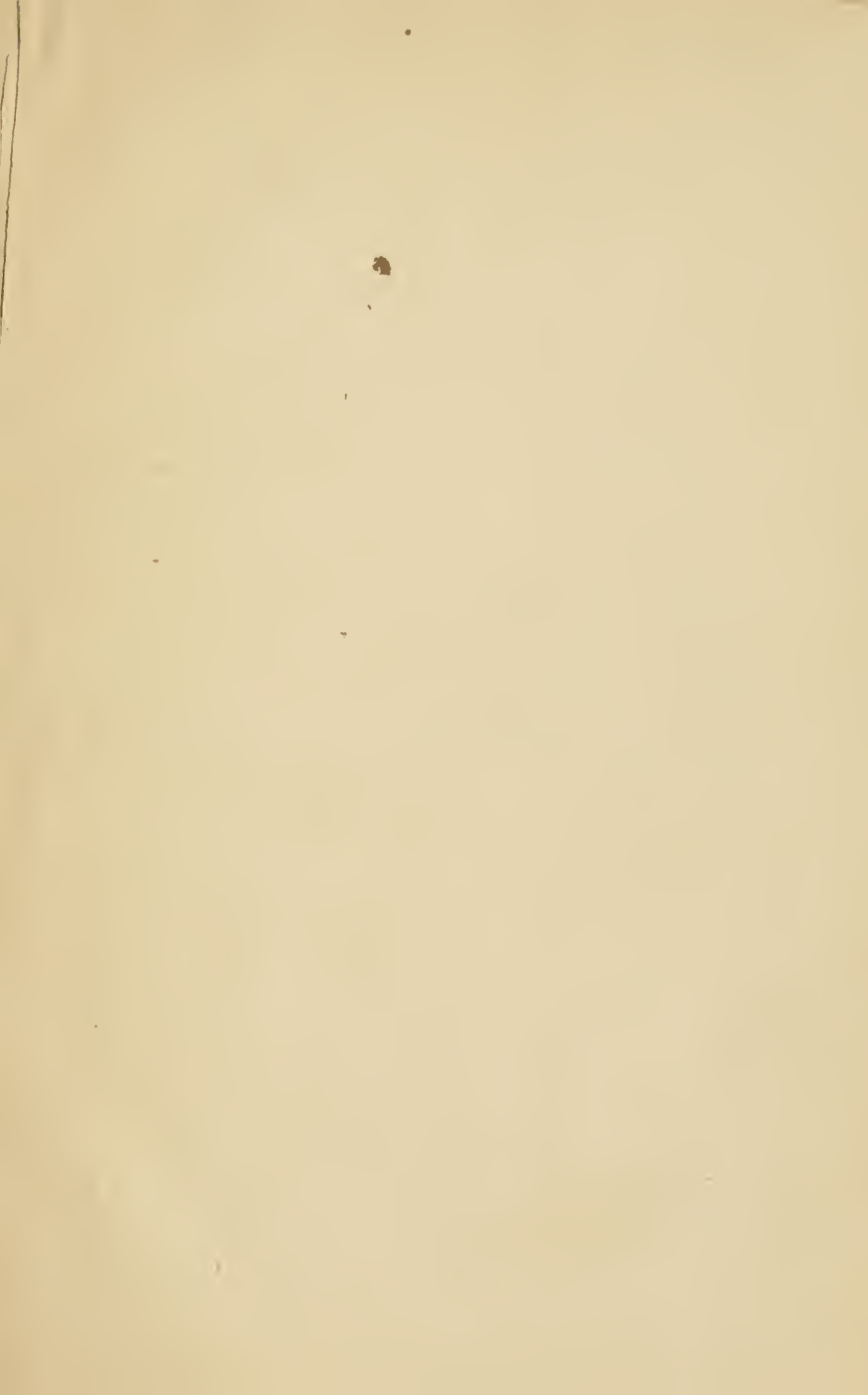


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UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.







SLAVEHOLDING NOT SINFUL:

AN ANSWER

BY HENRY K. HOW,

TO

JOHN VAN DYKE, ESQ.'S REPLY

TO THE ARGUMENT OF

REV. DR. HOW.



NEW-BRUNSWICK, N. J.:

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NEW-BRUNSWICK, March 8, 1856.

TO HON. JOHN VAN DYKE, ESQ.

DEAR SIR :

I have just finished reading your reply to my father's argument before General Synod, entitled, "Slaveholding not Sinful." It was brought to me this morning, and as it requires little thought and less reflection to rebut your arguments, I shall at once proceed to the task. I take the liberty to reply, because you refer to the "copyright secured," and as that was done in my name and for my benefit, I am of course an interested party, and can with propriety reply to your attack.

Your first assertion worthy of notice is, that Dr. How has published an argument "apologizing for, supporting, sustaining, giving aid and comfort, in all its length and breadth, to the shocking and loathsome system of human bondage as it exists in the United States." Now, Sir, I reply that no candid, intelligent reader of the argument could have come to such a conclusion. Indeed, you, yourself, on the very same page, contradict this assertion of yours, and your contradiction is contained in the following words. Addressing Dr. How, you say: "I am quite aware that in *terms* you say but little of American Slavery *as such*;" and on your fourth page another contradiction of your first charge, in these words: "Yet, so adroitly have you presented your case, that if it had not been for certain *modern* expressions which you made use of, found only in the present pro slavery vocabulary, we might in fact have been led into the impression that it was, after all, only the *ancient* slavery that you was justifying." So you perceive, Sir, that by your last two you have contradicted your first assertion and charge against Dr. How of "apologizing for, sustaining, supporting, and giving aid and comfort, *in all its length and breadth*, to the loathsome system of human bondage as it exists in the United States." But, Sir, aside from your contradiction, your assertion is *not true*, and exhibits either a misapprehension of the scope and spirit of Dr. How's argument, or a wilful perversion of it. As I have quoted your

charge, now I shall give Dr. How's words as used at the commencement of his argument. When speaking of slavery, he says: "We admit that it is an evil much to be lamented, but we deny that it is a sin against God or a crime against man."

Does this look like "apologizing for, supporting, sustaining, *in all its length and breadth*," &c. Again, Sir, your charge is proved to be unfounded by a quotation I shall now make from the 25th page of Dr. How's argument, where he says, (speaking of the law forbidding to teach the slaves to read,) "Permit me to remark that our Southern Christian brethren are fully impressed with their duty to communicate the Gospel to their slaves."

Then he quotes and endorses the following sentiment, published in the *Southern Presbyterian Review*, at Columbia, S.C., where the writer says, "It is, then, as plain as daylight that Christianity condemns all laws of the State, and all ideas and practices of individuals which put aside the immortality of the slave, or regard him in any other light than that of a moral and responsible fellow creature of our own. We have no hesitation in declaring that we accord with Judge O'Neill in earnestly desiring the repeal, for example, of the law against teaching the slave to read." Now, Sir, I could rest this point here with all safety, but I will proceed to challenge you to quote one passage in the whole of Dr. How's argument "apologizing for, supporting or sustaining" any act of injustice ever perpetrated by a slaveholder upon a slave. To this, I know, Sir, you may reply that he has "apologized for, supported and sustained" the holding of a slave, and that the holding of a slave is unjust and a sin. But how pitiable would be such a reply. It would be a *begging of the question*. Whether it is a sin to hold a slave, is the question in dispute. You contend that *it is a sin*; Dr. How contends that *it is not a sin*. And you are an advocate and a counsellor at-law, and have been as a Member of Congress a law-maker, and have prosecuted and defended prominent criminal cases in the courts of New-Jersey, and you know that a man is not to be pronounced guilty until his guilt is proved, and without proof a matter at issue is not to be decided.

Therefore, I call upon you to prove that slaveholding is a sin before you proceed to argue as though it were a sin; or to draw conclusions from arguments based upon the assumption that to hold a slave is a *sin*.

Sir, you have, by misrepresentation, endeavored to place Dr. How in a false position before the public, and to make him say things that he *did not say*, and advocate points that he did not advocate. And you, Sir, draw conclusions from his arguments when those arguments do not tend to such conclusions. This I shall prove. First, you try to make him apologize for the injustice and abuse of power that slaveholders may inflict upon their slaves, and from the abuse of the power and right to hold a slave, you argue that it is sin to hold a slave. You do not discriminate between the just and proper use of a thing and its unjust sinful abuse. And you, Sir, endeavor to make Dr. How ap-

pear as "apologizing for, supporting and sustaining, in all its length and breadth," the unjust, sinful abuse of slaves. Whereas, he is only defending the just and proper use. If this principle were a correct one, that it is right and proper to pronounce and treat as sinful everything or anything because it has been abused, the enforcing of such a principle would undermine the foundation upon which society rests, and destroy the peace and harmony of every human relation that God has expressly ordained and instituted. Has not the relation of law-giver and judge been abused? Has not the marriage relation been abused? Has not the parental relation been abused? And did not the devil abuse, misapply, and pervert the Sacred Scriptures, when he tempted Christ with a perverted passage of the Bible, to cast himself from the pinnacle of the temple? And did you not, my dear Sir, abuse this passage of the Sacred Scriptures, when you endeavored falsely to make my father say that slavery is without "spot or wrinkle, or any such thing?" Nothing would delight Satan more than to have the principle established that because a thing has been abused, therefore it is a sin to use it. The Bible has been abused; therefore it is a sin to use the Bible. Such is I know the doctrine of those who would exclude the Bible from popular use, and have it remain a sealed book. But the mass of our people do not believe such doctrine, but consider that those who preach thus are the devil's aid-de-camps, and do his dirty work. Would you then pronounce as sinful the marriage, parental, and judicial relations, and treat them as sinful. You *would not*, and *ought not*; therefore, you *should not*, on the ground of its abuse, pronounce and treat as sinful, the relation and position of a slave holder, only because that relation and position has been abused. You only have a right to pronounce sinful that which God has declared to be sinful; and until you have shown and proved conclusively, that slaveholding is a sin, you certainly have no right to argue upon the assumption that it is a sin. Now, Sir, living in the daily practice of sin excludes men from the communion of the Church, and exposes them to eternal death, and often renders them obnoxious to the penalty of human law. And you know, Sir, to expose men to the penalty of the law requires more than the assumption that there is a law forbidding the act they have committed; and requires strong proof also that they have violated the law, if there happens to be a law forbidding the commission of the act. How much more, Sir, does it require strong and conclusive evidence of the violation of law, before you proceed to pronounce as sinful, and place beyond the pale of the Church a large portion of our Christian fellow citizens, and to blacken the memory of our ancestors? and yet, Sir, you do not and cannot produce one express command or prohibition of the just and all-wise God against the holding of a slave. The slaveholder has rights as well as the slave, and those rights should be respected, and you should be very sure you do not trample on his right to demand that you should produce *God's law* and God's testimony before you pronounce him outside the pale of the

Church, or living in sin. Yes, "God's law and God's testimony, for if they speak not according to these, "they are all dumb dogs."

But to return to your Reply. On the fourth page, you address Dr. How thus : "You must have known that it was the slavery of this country, over the disgusting exhibition of which the stars and stripes of freedom float in mockery—the slavery that exists in North Carolina, and within the limits of the Classis seeking admission into the Dutch Church—which that body shrunk from participating in. This, and this only, was the slavery that you defended so valiantly, for this was the only slavery in question,—none other needed defence. It is true, that in making your onset upon the friends of freedom, you found it much easier to raise a false issue than to defend the true one. The only question was in regard to American Slavery, but to defend this, I presume, seemed too Herculean an undertaking to attempt *directly*, and so you threw over it the flimsy mantles of Abraham and Paul, and coolly transferred the scene of the conflict from the cotton fields and rice swamps, the slave pens, the auction blocks and whipping posts of the South, where it properly belonged, to the land of the olive and the vine, where the Great Ruler of the Universe, for reasons of his own, granted privileges to, and tolerated practices among, his peculiar people, not sanctioned anywhere else before or since." To this I answer that Dr. How was well aware that it was the Classis of North Carolina that the abolitionists and free churchmen were trying to keep out. But he was also well aware that if the principle was proved and established that to hold a slave was a sin, a *malum per se*, (a sin in and of itself,) that it would be a sin to hold a slave all over the world, even in those countries where it was not prohibited by law, and there made a *malum prohibitum*, (that is, a sin only because the laws of the land forbid it.) Accordingly he made, to quote his own words, his appeal "to the Scriptures of truth, heartily assenting to the teachings of the confession of faith of our Church, which says, 'We believe in the sufficiency of the Holy Scriptures to be the rule of faith. We believe that the Holy Scriptures fully contains the words of God, and that whatsoever man ought to believe unto salvation is sufficiently taught therein. Therefore we reject with all our heart whatsoever doth not agree with the infallible rules which the Apostles have taught us, saying, 'Try the spirits, whether they are of God; likewise, if there come any one to you and being not of this doctrine, receive him not unto your house.'" And he knew that when there was no law of God there could be no transgression, and consequently no sin. Accordingly he affirmed that there was no law of God forbidding the holding of a slave, and challenged them, and now challenges the abolitionists to produce any; and he proved in an argument that you have not answered that God had authorized it in various parts of the world that he had sanctioned it. He had incorporated master and slave by express terms within his covenant; that the sign of the covenant was administered to both; that the laws that God gave through Moses recognized the right of a master to own slaves, and to their services also; that Christ and his Apostles enforced these

laws ; and that, under the gospel dispensation, slaveholders and their slaves were admitted to church membership ; that special commands were given to regulate the intercourse between master and slave ; “ and that the Apostle Paul and the angel Jehovah himself sent back to their masters slaves who had runaway from them.” He also showed that Christ had said of a Roman Centurion who confessed that he held slaves, “ I have not seen so great faith, no, not in Israel.” The Centurion, mark it, was a Roman Centurion, not a Jew, and held slaves under the Roman law that admitted of enormities and excesses, before which the worst features of American Slavery appear as tender mercies when compared with their diabolical cruelty. Still Christ, by this act, although he condemned injustice and cruelty, acknowledged and established the fact that a man could be a Christian and yet hold slaves, even under the tenor of the law that admitted of so great enormities. Should not, therefore, every candid and unbiased mind come to the conclusion that we, who are *no better* than Christ and his Apostles, ought not attempt to exclude Christian North Carolinians, who live under and hold slaves under a far more humane law from Christian Church connection, or pronounce that their holding of slaves is a sin. This and other proofs derived from the practices of the early Christians were adduced by Dr. How to prove that the principle or doctrine was not a correct or true one ; that the buying of a slave, the using of a slave, and the holding of a slave was a sinful practice, and that, therefore, the holding of slaves by the people of the North Carolina Classis was not a sin, and because it was not a sin they should not be excluded on the mere unproved pretext of its being sinful. Does not this bring the argument home to the North Carolina Classis. Can you understand this position ? If you can, do not again assert that Dr. How stood upon any other ground, or maintained any other doctrine. So much for Dr. How’s position, and your misapprehension or misrepresentation of it.

One expression of yours in this connection is worthy of notice. In order to invalidate the strength of Dr. How’s argument you proceed to cast discredit upon some of his principal witnesses. Christ you dare not attempt to discredit. His testimony and practice was far above your impeachment. But the head of the visible Church, under the old dispensation, and the Apostle to the Gentiles, come in for a share of sneering abuse. “ *The flimsy mantles of Abraham and Paul,*” “ Flimsy,” ay ! “ a reed shaken by the wind.” The conduct and practice of Abraham and Paul was *flimsy*, was it ? The practices of Abraham and the teaching and conduct of Paul, were indeed two of the mantles that Dr. How threw over American Slavery, and safe and happy are they who come under the mantle of their protection. Abraham and Paul need no eulogium from me. Neither of them were sinless, but then the one lived in the possession of slaves, sanctioned by God in the express word of His Covenant, and the other spoke as he was moved by the Holy Ghost. Their conduct in such cases was neither flimsy or impeachable. I have tried to, but cannot escape from draw-

ing this meaning from your expression. If you intend to say that the example of Abraham and of Paul was inapplicable to the point in dispute, you should have said that "American Slavery was flimsily covered by the mantles of Abraham and Paul." And if you intended to say that Dr. How had applied the example and teaching of Abraham and Paul in an imperfect and clumsy manner, you should have said "covered in a flimsy manner by the mantles of Abraham and Paul." So, Sir, I cannot relieve my mind from the conviction that you have given utterance to an infidel sentiment.

Proceeding a little further with the quotation I have made from your argument, I find that you say God "granted privileges to, and tolerated practices among, his peculiar and chosen people, not sanctioned any where else, before or since." From your words, "not sanctioned any where else, before or since," it is very proper for us to conclude that these privileges were sanctioned then and there; and that the *then* you speak of, was under Abraham and was under Christ and his apostles, and that the *there* was the land of the olive and the vine, or in other words, Canaan and Judea. Accordingly it is proper for us to conclude that you say that God sanctioned practices in Canaan and Judea under the old dispensation or Abrahamic Covenant, and in Judea under his apostles, and the early Christians, that he does not sanction now. It is slavery that you are writing about in this connection. Therefore you have admitted that God sanctioned slavery then and there. This is just what Dr. How asserted, and by this admission you have lost your whole case, for God never sanctioned sin. If, therefore, God never anywhere or at any time sanctioned sin, but has sanctioned slaveholding, I am sure it cannot be a sin now and here. Can the same facts that are adduced in favor of slaveholding be adduced in favor of those practices that you refer to as permitted then but now forbidden by God. Can it be said of polygamy that it was sanctioned and never forbidden? Can it be said of concubinage that it was sanctioned and never forbidden? No; nothing of the kind can be said with truth; but it can be said of slaveholding that it was sanctioned and *never forbidden*; and besides, I would have you to remember that there is a vast difference between a *permission* and a *sanction*. A man may permit his child to spend his dollar for some foolish toy, and yet never approve or sanction the foolish expenditure. I have noticed already the contradiction that you are guilty of on this fourth page, wherein you assert differently and contrary to what you asserted on the first page of your argument relating to apologizing, &c., &c. I will now proceed to notice a term, at the use of which you appear to take great umbrage, to wit: the term "abolitionist;" a word that, with the help of Cruden's Concordance, you could not find in the Scriptures. As you say you could not find it, I will not dispute it; neither can you find their doctrine, or their precepts taught or sanctioned in the Sacred Scriptures; but, Sir, if you will look at 1 Tim. vi. chap., 1 to 5, you will find their precepts and practices condemned in the following words:—

"1. Let as many servants as are under the yoke count their own masters worthy of all honor, that the name of God and *his* doctrine be not blasphemed.

"2. And they that have believing masters, let them not despise *them*, because they are brethren; but rather do *them* service, because they are faithful and beloved, partakers of the benefit.

"3. If any man teach otherwise, and consent not to wholesome words, *even* the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine which is according to godliness;

"4. He is proud, knowing nothing, but doting about questions and strifes of words, whereof cometh envy, strife, railings, evil surmisings,

"5. Perverse disputings of men of corrupt minds, and destitute of the truth, supposing that gain is godliness: from such withdraw thyself."

Your indignation at the term abolitionist has lead you into the use of hard names, and you have been pleased to apply the elegant and classical term "doughface" to such men of the North as are willing to accord to their Southern fellow-citizens all rights that are not contrary to the Constitution of the United States. Certainly, Sir, if you like to roll the word "doughface" like a sweet morsel under your tongue, I am willing, and I shall use the term "abolitionist" wherever it is deserved and applicable; and that it was applicable, pointedly, intensely applicable to certain members of the Dutch Synod, can be proved by the language of some of them as reported in the *New-York Tribune* of June 16, 1855, when it stated that Dr. Wyckoff of Albany, and Dr. Bethune of Brooklyn, opposed the introduction of the Classis on the ground that it would make disturbance in the Church. And now I quote: "the other objection was, that slaveholding was a sin, and that we ought not to hold communion with slaveholders." This opposition was raised by the Rev. Isaac Duryea of Schenectady, who said "I can say that my inmost soul shrinks from the idea of our extending the fellowship of our church to slaveholding churches, as I shrink from the touch of the torpedo."

And that the term abolitionist is applicable to all who make the non-holding of slaves a test and condition of Church Communion, I can easily prove. The spirit and language of the abolitionist in the Church is this—Do away with slavery among you and we will admit you; hold slaves and we will not admit you. Thus they make the holding or not holding of slaves a test and condition of church membership, and require the abolition of slavery before admitting them to organized union. One word more: you charge Dr. How with making an onset upon the friends of freedom. The charge is unqualifiedly false. The false friends of freedom made the onset upon him. They attacked his report which was in favor of admitting the Classis into the Church. He knew it was not a sin to hold a slave, and it had never in the Dutch denomination been made a test of church union and membership, and he did not suppose that there was any man in the Dutch Church so fanatical as to say that it was. The onset was made upon Dr. How. He did not commence the controversy, but it has

always been the habit of those who make a disturbance without a cause to charge the disturbance or trouble to those who are most innocent of it.

This conduct of yours is like the conduct of the Frenchman with the red-hot poker, who rushed into the street and demanded of the first man he met that he would let him run the poker into his body just six inches. This the man very decidedly declined. "Let me run it in four inches?" said the Frenchman. "No!" said the man. "Let me run it in two, then?" "No!" said the man. "Let me run it in one?" "No!" replied the man earnestly, "you shall not run it in at all!" "Vel den," said the Frenchman, "Pay me for heating the poker!" Now you have charged Dr. How with making the onset. Next you will say that the Classis of North Carolina made all the disturbance by paying the Dutch Church so great a compliment as to ask to be united. But to another point found upon your fourth page at the bottom, you say "It was American Slavery then, and not Jewish Slavery that you were endeavoring to introduce into the Dutch Church." Introduce into the Dutch Church, indeed, as though it had not been introduced there already, and long, long ago; and besides it was a Dutch ship in 1620 that first introduced negro slaves into this country.* Is it not a fact well known to every well informed man, that ministers, elders, deacons, and church members, belonging to the Dutch Church, both in New-Jersey and the State of New-York, held slaves? And it is also a fact that slaves are now held by communicants belonging to the Dutch Church. But, Sir, it is not true that Dr. How was trying to introduce slavery into the Dutch Church, any more than he was trying to introduce Christianity into the Dutch Church. Christianity existed in the Dutch Church, and would remain there whether the North Carolina Classis came in or not. Slavery existed in the Dutch Church and would remain there whether the North Carolina Classis and their slaves came in or not. It is true that slavery is likely to die out in the Dutch Church. And so too is pure Christianity likely to die out, should the rulers of the Church with the consent of the people, prescribe laws that Christ never prescribed. I have already noticed your contradiction and also your abuse of Scripture, on the top of your fifth page, where you endeavor to make Dr. How say that American Slavery is without "spot or wrinkle, or any such thing." So I will proceed to notice an admission of yours that completely takes the foundation from under your castle of error, and tumbles it to the ground. You admit that the relation of master and slave "may exist without sin and without wrong," "when the old and worn-out slaves are cast by the law of the land upon the master or his estate for maintenance and support. Here the owner could not sever the relationship if he would, and if in that condition he cares for them properly, such relationship *cannot be considered sinful*. But such cases prove nothing, except that a slaveholder *may* be humane, and that the laws of the land may impose some obligations on him which he would be very glad to be free from." You admit that it is

* See Frost's Hist. U. S.

not sinful to hold the old and the worn-out slaves, and maintain them in New-Jersey, provided they are treated properly. This principle then ought to apply to North Carolina, and to the slaveholding States of the Union, and to all countries where slavery exists; unless New-Jersey is out of the world as well as the United States, as some would have us believe.

This admission acknowledges that old and infirm and decrepid persons in bondage, unfit for freedom, should the law of the land forbid their being set free, may be held as slaves. Therefore all of this class may be held in North Carolina without sin. And it also proves something more than that a slaveholder may be humane, for there are laws of just this kind in North Carolina; therefore it proves that slaveholders in North Carolina may be humane, and especially Christian masters in North Carolina may be humane. And your assertion that the laws of the land may impose some obligations on a slaveholder which he would be very glad to be free from, should be applied to the Christians and others in North Carolina, who are forbidden by the laws of the State to emancipate their slaves within the bounds of the State, and to all Christians where such laws exist under similar circumstances. And the admission of this principle, to wit: that the State may make laws compelling slaveholders not to emancipate their slaves in the State, will relieve of sin such Christians and others at the South, who do not teach their slaves to read, because it is forbidden by the laws of the State. No, Sir, they are no more living in sin because they live under such laws, than you and I are living in sin, because we live under the Fugitive Slave Law. And as well might the General Assembly of Scotland decide that we of the Free States are living in sin and iniquity, because we live under such a law, and that they will not have ecclesiastical connection with us on that account, even though you and many at the North would repeal the law at any time you had the power to do so. And so would many of the Christians of the South repeal the law forbidding to teach slaves to read. Thus, Sir, it has clearly followed from your admission, that slaves *may* be held without sin and without wrong, when it would be contrary to the laws of the land that arise from considerations of safety to the State and justice to the slave to set them free. And, Sir, I think that you will be forced to admit that those Christians of the South who live under laws that bear unjustly upon the slave, but desire the repeal of those laws on the ground of their being unjust, are no more living in sin than you and the opposers of the Fugitive Slave Law are living in sin because you are living in a land where it is enforced and you have not the power to repeal it.

I am willing to look with you at "slavery in this country, as it is, not as it might be made—at its origin, its practices, its incidents, its consequences and traffic—the laws by which it is sanctioned—not only what slaveholders may do *contrary* to law, but what they may do *according* to law, in all the States of the Union where it is tolerated." I will adopt the order in which you say we must look, and will not

diverge to answer your extravagant assertion that Dr. How has described slavery, with all its abuses, as a pure and immaculate thing, and that he voluntarily commenced the controversy. Neither will I linger long near "the green shores of Jordan." It will be sufficient for me to cast behind me "last, long, lingering look," until I behold Truth, triumphant in the struggle, consign your mangled mass of error to the black and slimy pools that fume and fester in the sun near the Dead Sea's mouth on the "other side of Jordan."

You say that slaveholding had its origin in man-stealing, and that "every one knows that our ancestors, both of Europe and America, went to Africa and stole them;" or, if they did not steal them, for a trifle they bought them of those who did, knowing them to have been stolen. "The receiver is as bad as the thief." "No matter how many degrees removed, our title is simply one of *larceny*." "It is a certain and undeniable conclusion, that the title of every slaveholder in the land to his human chattels is a title whose foundation rests in the blackest crime." This, sir, you assert, but do not prove; and it is incumbent upon you, and upon every one who makes this assertion, to bring the proof of so sweeping a charge. But, without insisting upon the proof just now, let us examine whether the charge is true. You say that "our ancestors stole them," "or if they did not steal them themselves, for a trifle they bought them of those who did, knowing them to have been stolen." How do you know this? Is the fact of holding a slave *prima facie* evidence of the slave having been stolen by somebody? Perhaps you may say that it is, then I will proceed to show that slaves can be held to service, that is to give their time and labor for the benefit of another, (even though it is involuntary,) without being stolen. This will lead us into the consideration of how men involuntarily become slaves. And first, sir, we will start with the position that men forfeit rights by crime. This needs no proof. State prisons and jails are ever before our eyes. But there are some countries where there are no state prisons or jails, for the habits of the people are different from our own; they live by watching and attending flocks and herds; they frequently shift their position; or if they do remain stationary, they have not the wealth to construct and maintain prisons and to keep criminals in confinement; accordingly their modes of punishment are different from ours. For small crimes the offender is beaten, and for large ones he is sold as a slave or is put to death. Such, sir, is the condition and the practice of Africans in Africa now. Such was the condition and practice of Africans in Africa before the slave trade was abolished in 1807 by act of Congress, which act took effect January 1st, 1808. Although Africans have no prisons, still they are not exempt from crime. Urged by their evil passions and propensities, a predatory band of Africans made or make an inroad upon the possessions of a neighboring tribe, who are peaceably pursuing the lawful occupations of life, kill men, women and children, and violently carry off their flocks and their herds. This is repeated again and again. The injured tribe arouse and seek redress. They pursue, surprise and capture the

marauding band. What now shall they do with their captives? They have plundered, and ravaged, and destroyed the property of their unoffending neighbors, and justice demands that they should make restitution, for it is just to give to every one his due, and it is due to the persons they have plundered that they should restore to them their property. But they have used, lost, or destroyed the plunder they unjustly took, and they own neither money, or flocks, or herds, and the lands that they own are wild and uncultivated, and the tribe that they robbed have more land than they want. What shall the captors do to obtain restitution and satisfaction? Shall they kill the captives? Oh, no! that would be too cruel and severe, and no remuneration. Shall they beat them and let them go? That would afford no restitution. What shall they do? Why, sir, they shall take, control, and employ that which the captives have got to give, and that is LABOR. Yes, sir, they make them labor, willing or unwilling. They become their slaves, and thus they obtain restitution. And justly, too. And their being made slaves is subservient to the ends of justice, for other marauding bands hear of their punishment and are deterred from acts of violence and robbery. They are now the public property of the tribe. Private possession of them is obtained by distribution or purchase, under the direction of the Chief, the recognized head of the tribe. The men who have lost property, to whom a part of the captives are distributed, may already have more slaves than they want, or have no use for any at all, and therefore they sell them, and the money they receive is their remuneration for their loss. Those who purchased them have a right to sell them, for they are their property,—they paid their money for them. And this same mode of administering justice and obtaining restitution is pursued by the Chief or acknowledged authority of different tribes toward their own people or subjects, when they have committed crimes for which restitution cannot be obtained in any other way than by controlling and compelling their involuntary service. When men for such causes and under such circumstances are enslaved they are enslaved justly. Such was and such has been the practice in Africa for ages. Such was the practice when the slave trade was not forbidden in this country, and such is the practice at the present day in Africa. But upon the supposition that all of them were stolen, does it follow that those who now hold them hold them by a *sinful* title? There is not, I venture to say, any inhabited land upon the face of the globe that was not once acquired by fraud or violence; and yet your principle would make every man who holds land, “no matter how many degrees removed,” hold it by a *sinful* title; and every man who holds goods purchased from fraudulent debtors or persons guilty of breach of trust, “no matter how many degrees removed,” or what time has elapsed, guilty of holding by a *sinful* title!

Try this principle, bring it home to our merchants and our fire-sides. One of our grocers sends to New-York, and buys sugar and coffee, and molasses, and rice; and another of our merchants goes and buys calico, and domestic and cotton goods—all the product of slave

labor or manufactured from it ; and the master of the slaves was paid and employed for his own use the money that was obtained from sinful labor. You go to the grocer or dry goods merchant and purchase his goods, just two or three removes from the "slave pens and cotton gins, and cotton fields and rice swamps of the South," the product, as you would say, of unjust and unholy labor ; and the owner and proprietor of this unholy labor reaps the profits ; and unless you and thousands of others purchased the products of what you call unholy labor, his slaves would be worthless and he would soon get rid of them. But, Sir, you and thousands of others who purchase the product of slave labor, contribute to support the masters of these slaves who hold them by a "title of *larceny*, no matter how many degrees removed," as you say. And, Sir, I see but little difference between buying, selling, and using that which slaves have spent all their lives in producing, and the act of controlling the time and labor of slaves. Therefore allow me to approach you with modesty, and pour into your ear a little moral suasion. My dear Sir, you must have conscientious scruples against holding a slave because you consider it a sin. Why not against using that which he has spent his time and labor in producing, for you say the slaves were acquired by wrong, and if they were acquired by wrong, then the product of their involuntary labor and toil is acquired by wrong, by injustice, and sin. But we purchase the products that are acquired by wrong, injustice, and sin, and you say the receiver is as bad as the thief. No matter how many degrees removed the title is that of *larceny*. If the title to the slave is *larceny*, then, no matter how many degrees removed, why is not the title to the product of the labor that of *larceny* ; and those products, with the title of *larceny*, as follows from your assertion, we purchase and use. Are we not then, according to your assertion, as bad as those who control and compel the labor of slaves when we purchase and use that which the slaves spend all of their time in producing. And when you are invited out to tea, and the lady who presides over the destinies of the table inquires, "Do you take cream and sugar, Sir?" then let conscience do its perfect work, and reply, in the spirit of true self-denying heroism, "a little cream, but *no sugar*, if you please, Madam." Those who believe this and want to be free from guilt, should abstain from the production of slave labor, and confine themselves to penny-royal tea, sweetened with maple sugar ; smoke Pennsylvania sixes and oak-leaf segars, and dress in winter and summer in flannel shirts and linsey-woolsey garments. What would become of commerce and trade?—What would become of banks and store houses and ships if men believe that things once acquired by wrong, no matter how many degrees removed, are held by wrong.

But you also say that our ancestors for a trifle bought them of those who stole them, knowing them to have been stolen. If you know that *your ancestors* did this I am perfectly willing that you should assert it of them ; but I am not willing that you should assert it of my ancestors who held slaves in North Carolina and in New-Jersey, and of the many others who hold slaves at the

South, without you have ample proof for so grave a charge; it will not do to prove that some people knew it if others did not, for this is your language, it has a universality:—"The title of *every* slaveholder in the land to his human chattels is a title whose foundation rests on the blackest crime;" and that blackest crime is, that they either stole them themselves or bought them knowing them to have been stolen. Now, Sir, you did not prove that they stole them, and I have shown that the mere fact of holding a man as a slave is not *prima facie* evidence that the man was stolen because he could be made a slave by other means than that of theft.

And our ancestors knew all this as well as we do to-day, and probably much better than we do, for we are not now employed in that foreign traffic, but they were employed in it when there was no law of the land against it; when it was not a contraband trade; and when it was conducted openly, and in the face of the world. Our ancestors well knew that ships sailed from the New England ports, and Newport in Rhode Island, particularly, and from Southern ports also, laden with gunpowder, with guns, with trinkets, with beads, with looking-glasses, with tobacco and segars, with New England rum, and with "Jersey lightning," perfectly legitimate articles of commerce, and that with these they bought Africans already slaves in their own country, where they could be tortured, and burnt, and sacrificed.* And they also knew that many of them were prisoners taken in war, such as I have described, and they knew that many of them were slaves as a punishment for crimes. And therefore, Sir, I say they did not know that they were stolen, and they purchased them justly.

Our ancestors well knew the situation of the Africans. They beheld them as they were landed on our coast, naked barbarians, degraded and debased. And what did our ancestors do? They put them to useful occupations; they made them carpenters, masons, tailors and barbers; and some are clergymen, and preach the words of Salvation to their fellow-slaves, and by the Gospel truth many have been brought out of darkness into marvellous light. And now compare them with the barbarians in Africa, and our slaves are far in advance in happiness, comfort and civilization. Do not, then, blacken the memory of our ancestors in order to sympathize with criminals, degraded, debased, enslaved and sold in their own country by the recognized authorities of the land.

How, then, it may be asked, came our ancestors to pronounce, in 1807, the slave trade man-stealing and piracy, and those engaged in it punishable with death? This question is very easily answered. Our ancestors, both of Europe and America, discovered that the cupidity of the African Princes, and of the slave factors on the African coast, and of the owners and masters of vessels engaged in the slave trade, incited them to resort to unlawful means to obtain slaves. Accordingly

their subjects to bondage, or resorted to unjust wars to enslave men. As soon as our ancestors discovered this, and found that the title to the slaves was the robber's title, and that the Africans had been stolen, they pronounced the act piracy, punishable with death, and the act of Congress was passed in 1807 and took effect January 1st, 1808. And some twenty years previously, whilst the Constitution of our country was being formed, a Committee, a majority of which was from *Slave States*, reported a section authorizing Congress to abolish the trade after the year 1800; but this period was extended until the year 1808; thus giving eight additional years to the traffic by the votes of New-Hampshire, Massachusetts and Connecticut, whilst the vote of Virginia was against such extension. Thus the trade was continued by the votes of men from the New-England States, who there guarded the commercial interest of their constituents and prolonged the traffic. This is a matter of record. Had you said that some were stolen and were purchased by those who knew they were stolen, I would readily admit that fact. But how are we to point out who does and who does not hold his slave by a title of larceny derived from his father? And if you can find any whose forefathers stole them before the passage of the law prohibiting the slave trade, I can show you that his title is not only secure, but founded upon the principles of eternal justice, and therefore just, and consequently not sinful. You have admitted that it is secure. But the law-breakers who entice slaves away and resist their recovery have rendered it insecure.

But as you have admitted that the State *can* if they have the power to enforce the law, render the title perfectly secure, I shall then proceed to show that they can justly and of right render it secure. It is upon this principle: It is the design of all law to preserve society in a state of peace and quietness and harmony. Hence it has been said of law, by the excellent and learned Hooker, "Her seat is the bosom of God, her voice is the harmony of the world." And to preserve the harmony of society and to prevent property being held by an uncertain tenure, laws have been passed which make such property secure to the possessor. Such laws being founded upon a just principle, cannot be unjust. And those who hold under them hold justly and without sin. And in the case of an African stolen, it may be that the person who stole him can never upon any consideration acquire a just title in him, resting solely upon possession, for it is a rule of law that no man has a right to take advantage of his own wrong. Yet should the man so stolen have offspring by a woman obtained justly, by purchase or otherwise, such offspring would of right be the property *even* of the man who had stolen the father of the child. For it is clearly shown in Pufendorf, book VI., chapter II., under the head of Parental Power, that the mother has the original right in the child, for it is nursed by her body, and after birth sustained by her care and nourishment, and because no one knows who is the father of the child but the mother, and when the marriage tie does not exist, she has the right to father it upon whom she pleases, and hence the Roman Law "*Partus sequitur ventrem*," the

birth goes along with the bearer. This rule holds good in regard to all domestic animals, and is founded upon the principle that the owner of the soil has a right to things planted in and grown upon it. He has also a right because he was deprived of the services of the mother during the period of gestation. The offspring thus becomes the property even of the man who stole the father, but justly owned the mother of the child.

Let us come nearer home to exemplify our position. Suppose that a person thinks that the Africans who were purchased by him were purchased justly because he thought that they had been enslaved for crime, and that he holds some of the survivors at the present day. By this time they would have arrived at that age, old, infirm, &c., in which condition you have admitted that it would be right and proper, as well as just, to hold them as slaves. And when a slave is purchased at the request of the slave himself, then he is held justly, even though the man purchasing him knew he was stolen and his title not secure. But slaves are held in the South by just such a tenure, and justly, too. Now hear what Dr. Wayland says, one of the great guns of New-England, who has fired some shots in behalf of the anti-slavery men. I quote from his *Elements of Moral Science*, Chap. 2. Sec. 1st, p. 251. He is speaking of the duty to leave others in the peaceable possession of their property. "Hence in general I believe it will hold that while merely the laws of society do not give a man any *moral* right to property, yet when these laws have once assigned it to him this simple fact imposes a moral obligation upon all other men to leave him in the undisturbed possession of it." Let those who entice slaves away and oppose the Fugitive Slave Law, put this in their pipe; and let the masters sell their slaves if they like, it is none of our business to interfere with the sale of property justly acquired and which the laws of the State have legalized.

Relating to the internal traffic you say, "There is not a member of the clergy of North Carolina that dare to stand in his own pulpit to raise his voice against it." No, indeed, they do not dare to preach a crusade against the rights of property, they follow the example of Christ and his apostles, who, you say on page eleven of your pamphlet, never "attempted to interfere with any of the *legal* institutions of the country." They hold no commission to do any such thing. As it regards the separation of husband and wife, this is daily practised at the North for crime, and it is seldom done to slaves except for punishment. There are laws restricting the separation of mother and child, and a man named Hunter, has lately been fined \$1,000 in Louisiana, for selling a child under the age prescribed by law. (*See New-York Herald*, Mar. 15, 1856.) You ask "are adultery and fornication among slaves sinful" or not? I answer yes; but there is less of it among slaves than among free blacks at the North. Look at the *Compendium* of the U. S. Census, chapter V., table LXXI. There you will find that there are more free mulattoes than there are free blacks in the Free States, and as the white people of the North do not marry blacks, these

mulattoes must have been born out of wedlock. In the South, on the contrary, there is only one mulatto to twelve slaves. Look at New-York, also with its tens of thousands of public prostitutes, besides the private ones, and compare this with the proverbial virtue of the white women of our Southern States. The white men of the North have had something to do with all this; let them cleanse their skirts first. "Let them cast out the beam that is in their own eye, and then they may see clearly to cast out the mote that is in their Southern brother's eye." Compare the Northern brothels with the harems of the South, with which you seem to be so familiar, and to which you on your fifth page ask Dr. How to accompany you. For shame, Mr. Van Dyke, to ask honest men to go with you to such places. Compare them, I say, and if the Magdalen reports are to be believed, the brothels of New York City equal in number all the harems of the cities of the South. Certainly these crimes are a sin, but, because these sins are encouraged, it is no reason to prove the owner holds his slave by a sinful title; much less does it prove that those who do not encourage such practices, hold their slaves by a sinful title. Dr. How condemns the law forbidding to teach a slave to read. This law was passed out of motives of safety to the State, as abolitionists circulated incendiary pamphlets, calculated to excite the slaves to discontent and revolt. Yet they had better be repealed, for with all the efforts of abolitionists to assist and entice them, only one thousand and eleven ran away from their masters in the year 1850. (*Census returns, table XLIV.*) You next speak of the law rendering a slave incapable of testifying in a court of justice against his master in a case of murder. Neither is a deserter permitted in the army to give evidence; neither is a state prisoner who has served out his time; neither should the Africans who were sold into slavery on account of crime—and our forefathers knew that many were enslaved for crime, and those that were not, they could not point out. Therefore it was safe and expedient for them to pass laws making them incapable of testifying in a court of justice. And for this reason also, the Africans were ignorant idol-worshippers, who had no idea of a future state of punishment, or of the criminality of a lie; neither do their children have any regard for truth. Besides this, a master might exhibit an unlawful influence over his slave, and thus force him to pervert the truth. Besides it is a rare occurrence for a master to kill or to suffer his slave to be killed; they are not such fools as to destroy their own property worth \$1,000 or \$1200 each; and if they do, there is circumstantial evidence to convict, and lawyers say that men will lie, but circumstances do not.

You say that the abuses of power are a part and parcel of the system of slavery, and *inseparable* from it. This you assert but have not proved. I deny the truth of the assertion. Power is not always abused. All masters do not abuse their slaves, and therefore abuse is *separable* from the system of slavery. Bad men abuse; good men do not. The abuse arises from the character and disposition of the master, not from the system, for in the systems of American slavery are embodied laws forbidding and punishing cruelty to slaves. But you

say that the crimes "are done in accordance with law." Please produce the laws that command and enforce them.

The whole of your eighth and part of your ninth pages are filled with arguments to prove by the Golden Rule of our Saviour that it is a sin to hold men in bondage if held *unjustly*. Dr. How does not deny this in his argument. But I am sure that he never would admit the truth of this assertion of yours, to wit, "that we should do no injury to or impose any burden on our brother man that we would be unwilling to receive from him." Here you make the *will* of the man who receives injury or has a burden imposed on him, the test of right and wrong. Accordingly, a father says to his son "Go to the Bank of New-Jersey and bring me one of Mr. Van Dyke's famous pamphlets." The boy says "I won't; I want to spin my top." And because he does not want to, therefore he ought not. Is that *your reasoning*? A citizen has a just and lawful tax imposed upon him, but says I will not pay it. Is that a good reason that he ought not to pay it? No. He must show to the appellate court that the tax is unjust, and not make his will the rule in the matter. And, on the other hand, ought I to do nothing to another that I would not have another to do to me? Ought our soldiers upon the field of battle refuse to shoot down the opposing ranks of the enemy because they do not want the enemy to shoot them down? Such a manner of action would be ridiculous; and yet you record it in your code of morals. Ought a master let his slave go free because he does not want to be a slave himself?

At the middle of your ninth page, you write thus:—"I think that I neither mistake or misrepresent your position when I say that your justification of slaveholding in this country, is based entirely and exclusively on the fact that slaveholding as it was practised among the Hebrews, was never directly condemned by God himself, nor by any one who it is conceded spoke by his authority; on the contrary, as you contend, it received their sanction." Dr. How's argument was based upon the fact that God not only sanctioned slavery among the Hebrews, but also that he sanctioned the master's right to his slave, the whole earth over where the holding of a slave is not forbidden by law; by God's enumeration of man-servants and maid-servants as property—in the catalogue of property that he gives in the tenth commandment, which command is of universal binding force, and not confined to the Hebrews alone; and also upon the fact that Christ said of the slaveholding Roman Centurion—"I have not seen so great faith—no, not in Israel," and also upon the fact that the apostles sanctioned slaveholding under the Roman Law; and that God had commanded the Israelites the first year upon their journey to the promised land, then poor and having no slaves to purchase slaves of the heathen nations that were around them, when they had settled in the promised land. And if these heathen nations (as you say we do) held these slaves by a title of *larceny*, God must have sustained this title of *larceny*, and commanded his people to purchase of men-stealers. But God never did any such thing; he recognized the right to hold slaves among the Hebrews,

among the heathen nations, among the Romans, and all over the earth, when not contrary to the laws of the land, as shown by his tenth command, wherein he enumerates men-servants and maid-servants as property. There is a strong analogy between Hebrew slavery and American slavery. Both negro slaves, and slaves held by Hebrews, were acquired by purchases and as captives enslaved for punishment of crimes, and even a Hebrew by birth could be held in perpetual bondage, contrary to your assertion that he could not. (*See Ex. xxi. : 2—6.*) And your assertion that the practice of condemning to slavery prisoners of war has long since been abandoned, is not true, for it is not abandoned by uncivilized nations, *particularly African nations*, yet I do not attempt to justify enslaving prisoners of war, unless the prisoners had previously committed, or aided and abetted in committing, a deed "worthy of death," or an act for which restitution could be obtained in no other way. (*Vattel's Law of Nations—book 3rd, chapter 8th, sec. 153.*) And that the Israelites (who you call Hebrews) "had no nation or race of men about them doomed to slavery as a matter of course, on account of their nation or race," is flatly contradicted in Joshua ix. : 23—27; where, speaking of the Gibeonites, the text reads as follows:—"Joshua made them that day hewers of wood and drawers of water for the congregation and for the altar of the Lord, even unto this day"—condemned quite as much to slavery "as a matter of course" as Africans have been condemned to slavery "as a matter of course."

On your tenth page you say, but "suppose we admit for the sake of argument that the Almighty, for reasons of his own, permitted slavery among his chosen people without reproof, does it follow as a matter of course that we can without sin practice the same?" By no means, Sir! But it does follow that when God has sanctioned any act, has prescribed rules acknowledging the legality of that act, never condemned that act, or restricted us to any other kind of act or conduct, that then we can without sin, and justly too, perform that act.

God has sanctioned slavery; he has prescribed rules acknowledging the legality of the master's title; he never condemned the holding of a slave, neither has he restricted us to free or voluntary labor. Does this hold true of the other acts that you speak of. God has permitted polygamy, but never sanctioned it; he has forbidden multiplying wives, and has restricted us to one wife at a time. He has permitted lying, but never sanctioned it; but he has said that "all liars shall have their portion in the lake that burns with fire and brimstone." He also struck Annanias and Sapphira dead for telling a lie, and has restricted us to the truth in our conversation and practice.

And, Sir, I would have rested with showing the distinction between a permission and a sanction, had it not been that you had presented Abraham in the light of performing acts that are now reprobated and condemned. That he had wives and concubines is all very true; and suppose it was a sin for him to have them, does it follow that because God permitted him to have them that he sanctioned it, and that therefore we should have them now. Even if God did sanction it then,

he has forbidden it now. Or suppose it was a great sin, it only shows that Abraham was a fallen man as well as ourselves. All of us commit crimes, and because we are not immediately punished, or never punished because we repent, does that show that God sanctions our crimes, and that those who see us do it with impunity, can, without sin, be guilty of the same acts. By no means. Of the sin of lying, in its broad sense, Abraham was not guilty, although he was guilty of deception, and his deceit brought with it his punishment, for the trouble he was trying to avoid befell him through his deception. Who Sarah's natural father was is a matter of doubt. The first place where she is spoken of having any other relation than a husband, (*Ex. xi. : 29*) Terah, Abraham's father, is said to be her father-in-law, (*Ex. xi. : 31*) consequently, she could, with truth, call Terah father, and Terah call her daughter, and Abraham therefore call her sister as well as wife; although she was not his natural sister, this would, in one sense, be true. Others suppose that she was Abraham's niece, that Sarah was the daughter of Abraham's brother, consequently she was the granddaughter of Abraham's father. Abraham's brother is known to have died, and Sarah went into the family of her grandfather, who supported her, and hence was called her father, and Abraham's sister, although his wife and niece. Men differ in opinions. Let us have Abraham's account of the matter (*Gen. xx. : 12*—"Yet indeed *she is* my sister, she is the daughter of my father, but not the daughter of my mother, and she became my wife." According to this she was Abraham's *half-sister*. Now let us see what becomes of your charge that if he did not lie he was guilty of incest, and that the Messiah came from an incestuous origin. What is now called incest, and considered a crime, was not forbidden as yet by God's law. The command against marrying near relations was first promulgated after the Exodus of the Israelites, (*Lev. xviii. : 7—18.*) It is also held by the best writer on natural law, that to marry a sister is not contrary to the laws of nature, but that it is unlawful because contrary to civil enactment founded upon God's levitical command, for which there are very good reasons. All of Adam's children who married, married their sisters. God commanded them to increase and multiply. How could they obey this command unless they married their sisters? and do you think God would command them to do a thing contrary to nature? No, Sir, by no means.

But it may be said that it is a physiological fact that the offspring of such unions are diseased or idiotic. I deny that such is a physiological fact, unless the parties are diseased, and thus the disease continued and aggravated in the offspring by such a union. A like result occurs when persons who have no blood relation whatever to each other marry. But those who assert that idiocy and disease result of necessity from a law of nature to the children because they are the offspring of the union of brother and sister or near relations, whether diseased or not, will please to prove the assertion, and they have these facts to stare them in the face. Cain must have married his own sis-

ter; his son Enoch builded a city and never saw death, for God took him. Methuselah, Enoch's son, lived 969 years, the oldest man on record. Isaac, the result of the union of Sarah and Abraham, was no fool or imbecile, although he was born when Sarah and Abraham were old and well stricken in years; and Isaac begat Jacob the father of the Patriarchs, and he wrestled with an angel and the angel prevailed not. But it may be objected there is scrofula or "kings' evil" that befel the offspring of a royal family who married with relations. Please to prove that it originated from the marrying of relations. That it was continued and aggravated by the marriages is very probable. God has prohibited such marriages, and there are many other good reasons why they should be prohibited.

At the time Abraham married his half-sister or niece, there was no command of God against it. There was no command then, so far as we know, and there is no command now against marrying a niece. And to make the worst of it he only married his half sister, which it is true is forbidden by the levitical law. (*Lev. xviii. : 9.*) But there was no law then forbidding it. And because there is a law of God forbidding it now, therefore we cannot plead the example of Abraham to justify incest. But there is no law of God now, or ever has been, forbidding the holding of a slave, and therefore to hold a slave is not a sin, for "when there is no law, there is no transgression." As to Abraham's having an *illegitimate* child by Hagar in the "lifetime of his wife," how do you know the child was *illegitimate*? Were there any laws of the land pronouncing such children *illegitimate*? On the contrary, the laws and customs of the land permitted concubinage and polygamy. And how do you know that children born out of wedlock, were pronounced by the law *illegitimate*? I hold you to the strict legal sense of the term *illegitimate*. You in your indictment present Abraham before the jury of the people, wherever your pamphlet has circulated, charged in manner and form with *lying*, or with *incest*, and with having an *illegitimate child*.

I have shown that he did not tell a palpable lie, but admit that he was guilty of deception, for which he was punished. That he was not guilty of incest is clear, as there was no law against marrying a half-sister—and it was not contrary to the law of nature. Neither was there any law that pronounced a child born out of wedlock *illegitimate*. Therefore by the law of the land the child was not *illegitimate*! I will leave it to the public to give their verdict if you have proved Abraham guilty of the crimes in the manner and form charged. Thus, Sir, I think I have removed the *flimsy mantle* you have cast over the character of Abraham; soon I will come to Paul.

Again Sir, you say "It seems that the Israelites after their deliverance from Egypt, were permitted and required to kill, to destroy, and to drive out the nations and tribes inhabiting the land of Canaan, &c."

You say God *required* them to do so. If God requires us to do this to other nations, it will be just and right, "for he ruleth over the armies of heaven and the inhabitants of the earth, and none can stay

his hand, or say unto him what doeth Thon?" But we must be very sure he commands it; nothing short of miracles should convince us. Another assertion of yours is "that although God permitted the Israelites to hold slaves, such was not the Divine pleasure when the Israelites were enslaved and oppressed by the Egyptians." These are the reasons why God punished the Egyptians; it was because after the land of Goshen had been given to the Israelites and Joseph was dead, Pharoah who knew not Joseph, made slaves of the free Israelites without provocation or cause, and out of jealousy slew the first-born. Then it was after a lapse of time that God sent Moses who showed Pharoah miracles to establish his authority from God to demand of him that he should let the Israelites go. Had Pharoah obeyed the command he would not have been punished, but he made a direct issue with God, and said, (*Ex. v. : 2.*)—"Who is the Lord that I should obey his voice to let Israel go? I know not the Lord, neither will I let Israel go!" The Israelites were not of *right* the slaves; and Pharoah denied God's authority: for this they were plagued, and God brought them out with a strong hand. Here Sir, you have brought to a close all that you have to say in regard to proofs from the Old Testament.

And now, Sir, the Gospel and Epistles are to afford a fair field for you to display your skill in hermaneutics. Why do you not try your acumen upon 1 Timothy, vi. : 1—5. Is that too strong meat to digest, or is the rebuke it conveys to them who teach otherwise, too harsh music for your ears.

1. 1 Tim. vi. : 1—5: "Let as many servants as are under the yoke count their own masters worthy of all honor; that the name of God and his doctrine be not blasphemed. And they that have believing masters, let them not despise them, because they are brethren; but rather do them service, because they are faithful and beloved, partakers of the benefit. These things teach and exhort. If any man teach otherwise, and consent not to wholesome words, even the words of our Lord Jesus Christ, and to the doctrine which is according to godliness; he is proud, knowing nothing, but doting about questions and strifes of words; whereof cometh envy, strife, railings, evil surmisings, perverse disputings of men of corrupt minds, and destitute of the truth, supposing that gain is godliness: from such withdraw thyself."

This you will have nothing to do with, but you proceed to address Dr. How thus: "All you have proved or can prove from the New Testament, are the facts that servitude was found to exist in those times, that neither Christ or any of his apostles in direct terms condemned the institution, but on the contrary admonished those connected therewith, either as master or servant, to perform with faithfulness the duties which the laws of the institution required. It is not pretended that they approved of it in any other way than this."

It is pretended and proved, also, that Christ sanctioned the holding of slaves, and recognized men servants and maid servants in the Tenth Commandment. But let us quote from Dr. How's argument.

"1. Our first remark is, that Christ and his Apostles in the strongest manner assert the divine inspiration and binding authority of Moses and the Prophets, that is, of the Old Testament Scriptures. On this point there was no dispute between them and the Jews. It was Jesus Christ the Son of God who gave to the Israelites their laws in the wilderness, and who spake by his spirit in the prophets,* who was again visibly present among the Jews in the humble form of the Man of Nazareth, explaining and enforcing the laws which he had before given to them. The Law of Ten Commandments is referred to and argued from by both Christ and his Apostles, as the Law of God of universal and perpetual obligation, and consequently the tenth command is in as full force at the present day as when it was first given, and the right of the master to his man-servant and maid-servant remains as strong as at the first. Moreover, all true believers in Christ are children of Abraham, and so under and interested in the Covenant which God made with him. 'Know ye, therefore,' says the Apostle, 'that they which are of faith the same are the children of Abraham. . . . So then they which be of faith are blessed with faithful Abraham. . . . If ye be Christ's then are ye Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise. (*Gal. iii. : 7, 9, 29.*) It is under that covenant which God made with Abraham to be a God to him and to his seed after him, and of which circumcision, before the death of Christ, was the sign, and baptism now is and has been since his death, that the visible Church is now placed, and believing masters with their believing slaves are now as they ever have been entitled to the sign and privileges of the covenant."

You instance the fact that "Christ and his Apostles never interfered with the legal institutions of the land," but permitted them to exist. Their language was: "Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man, the powers that be are ordained of God." But it would be very wrong to infer from this that God sanctioned injustice, although he sanctioned the necessity and propriety of just government and ordained power in the hand of the civil magistrate. God has granted power and ordained relative duties. His commands are: "Wives be obedient to your husbands: husbands love your wives; children obey your parents; parents provoke not your children to anger; servants be obedient to your masters; masters render to your servants things just and equal."

You represent Christianity with its benign influence as having abolished the relation of master and slave in many parts of Christendom. Is this a fixed fact, or is it only an assertion? Is not Christianity as pure in these states as it is in Europe or in Great Britain? If Christianity has abolished negro slavery in those countries, why did it not abolish the abject oppression of the down-trodden European nations? or is there something *peculiar* in the African race for which they should have special privileges? Christianity does not abolish the relation of master and slave. It prevents men from becoming slaves to their passions and appetites, and thus prevents them becoming slaves

to men. It elevates them in the condition of master and slave, and makes the master more kind and the slave more faithful. Christianity does not abolish the just right of the master to his slave. Show me the command if it does? Read what Dr. How says on the 28th page of his argument of the beneficial effects of Christianity on the master and slave. Please also to prove that it was Christianity that abolished negro slavery in Europe and Great Britain.

Your assertion that Dr. How based a portion of his argument "that to hold a slave is not a sin," upon the ground "That inasmuch as they knew of it, and spoke of it, and did not condemn it, therefore they *must* have approved of it," cannot in truth be founded on Dr. How's words. Dr. How proves that they did not condemn it. This I have shown several times; but to repeat only once: He adduced the enumeration of slaves as property in the command as a sanction, and proved that Christ enforced the binding authority of the Tenth Commandment; also by doing this Christ sanctioned the holding of slaves as property, but Christ never sanctioned injustice, although he may have permitted the Roman Tribunals to act unjustly, yet Christ condemned the unjust judge and injustice of all kinds.

And now we come to a false, ridiculous and wonderful statement and comparison, and it is difficult to tell whether it is more ridiculous than it is untrue. Dr. How brought up the tenth command, which is of universal application at all times and in all countries where God's word is read and preached, to show that in that command God recognized man-servants and maid-servants as property, and that thus he sanctioned the right to hold slaves. You say, addressing Dr. How, "But you seem to have made one other discovery, new, if not useful, more strange if possible than the others, and that is, that the 'abolitionists' of the General Synod are utterly crushed and confounded by the command 'Thou shall not covet thy neighbor's man-servant, nor his maid-servant, nor any thing that is thy neighbor's,' which you accompany with a dissertation on the rights of property; but what this has to do with the case is more than I can tell." Now, my dear sir, you yourself seem, if not crushed, at least to be confounded; or, to use an appropriate but inelegant word, "dumbfounded." Is it possible that the eyes of your mind were so obscured as not to be able to perceive and to understand that Dr. How used this command to show that when God enumerated house and wife, man-servant and maid-servant, ox or ass, or any thing belonging to our neighbors, that he recognized man-servant and maid-servant as belonging to our neighbor—his property, to which he has a right. Dr. How did not charge that the abolitionists coveted the slaves of the North Carolina brethren; but that if they said that man-servants and maid-servants were not rightful; God-recognized property, then they go right contrary to God's revealed word. For some reason you did not see this: perhaps you did not want to. But it is not too late to see it now.

After this oversight you relate an incident that occurred some years ago, in which I happened to be an actor. I refer to the robbery

at my father's, for I believe it is Dr. How's house that you refer to; there being no robbery of any other gentleman's house "not far from our City, in which act the burglars were arrested, and carried to prison," as far as my memory recalls. And I infer that it is that incident from the fact that I have heard you tell the same story before, and because it is generally believed that you refer to that occasion. But details of the occurrence are so devoid of fact, that were it not for the nearness to our City, and the fact of the thieves being caught, it would be impossible to know what burglary, or what parties you refer to. You ask if Dr. How coveted the *pistols* when he took them away? They had but one pistol, although they had knives, and the pistol and knives the Sheriff took before Dr. How had seen the *burglars*; neither did he buy a *pair of pistols*. So you see that he neither coveted the pistols, nor took away their pistols, or had they a pair loaded to the muzzles to take away, nor did Dr. How buy a pair of pistols. Now did you invent this or was it told you? If it was told you, you should have recollected what every *tyro* at the bar knows that it is dangerous to rely upon "hearsay evidence." What was your object? Was it to ridicule Dr. How? If so, your ridicule has recoiled upon yourself, for in relating this incident, you have exhibited a most laughable misunderstanding of Dr. How's application of the tenth command.

You say that you cannot see how the fact that because the Israelites (or Hebrews as you call them) treated their slaves better than the heathen and other nations strengthens the argument in favor of the *American* "evil!" Dr. How is speaking of the reasons for God permitting slavery; and it is easy to be seen that to purchase a slave from a heathen master who treated him cruelly was a great blessing, besides he became an heir to God's covenant by circumcision. Thus, when slaves were brought from barbarous, idolatrous Africa, where they were *already in bondage*, it is evident that the condition of being slaves in the United States was better than to be slaves in Africa; for respect for God's word, and the observance of the Sabbath, had a tendency to soften the rigor of the master and to civilize the slave, and that therefore if we really sympathize with slaves in North Carolina or in the South, we should extend the right hand of fellowship to their masters; and that by "supporting, sustaining, and giving aid and comfort" to Christianity at the South, we supported, sustained, and gave aid and comfort, "in all its length and breadth," to the sublime and humanizing system of pure Christianity; which by subduing the evil passions of their nature caused masters to give to their slaves "that which is just and equal," and the slaves to render cheerfully to their masters that which was due; instead of turning their backs on their Southern Christian brethren, and turning up their eyes to heaven, with sanctimonious fervor, exclaiming "Lord, I thank thee that I am not as other men are," slaveholders, "unjust, adulterers," or even as these North Carolinians.

You assert that Dr. How gives no reason for the permission by God of slaveholding, but only some good rules for its regulation; "but,

sad to say, the poor, powerless, friendless slave of this 'glorious Union,' has no such protection from the law. The master or his minions may smite out one of his eyes or both of them," or treat him with whatever cruelty he chooses, and yet "the victim is h's slave forever." This you state for fact. Let us see if Dr. How did not give reasons for the permission of slaveholding.

His first reason was, that slavery is one of the bitter effects of the fall. There are several bitter effects of the fall. One bitter effect of the fall is, that men must be punished when they wrong their neighbor in order to assert the majesty of the law, to obtain from them satisfaction or restitution, to deter them from breaking law again, and to deter others from the commission of like acts. This is the effect that Dr. How spoke of. It is a penal effect of the fall. God sentenced men to slavery to punish crime. He cursed Canaan for crime to slavery, and the curse was carried out when the Israelites held Canaanites in bondage. Few will deny that it is right to deprive men of their liberty and confine them in jails and prisons because they have forfeited a right to liberty by crime. Why dispute then that it is right to enslave men and make them labor for the benefit of others, when there is no other suitable mode of punishment, as I have shown some pages back. It was a *bitter penal effect* of the fall. This was Dr. How's first reason.

His second reason why God permitted his people to hold slaves was, because they had more privileges under His law than they had when slaves to idolaters. This was for the advantage of the slave who would have been a slave among the heathen, if he had not had one of God's covenant people for a master.

His third reason was, that God permitted it because he did not consider it a sin to hold a slave, and no where made it a test of church-membership.

All of these reasons will apply for the permission of holding slaves in the United States to-day. And now as to your charge that the reasons exist in this country to regulate the "evil, but the regulations are nowhere to be found." That a master can treat a slave with whatsoever cruelty he pleases, "yet he shall be a slave forever;" I ask, do you state this for fact? There are a number of laws protecting the slave in this country. As I have not the Southern State Statutes, I cannot quote many, but here are two that contradict your charge. The first is from Bouvier's Law Dictionary, under the head of Cruelty to Slaves. I quote from that book: "By the Civil Code of Louisiana, Act 192, it is enacted that when a master shall be convicted of cruel treatment to his slave, the judge may pronounce, *beside* the penalty established for such cases, that the slave shall be sold at public auction in order to place him out of the reach of the power of his master who has abused him." And I quote from the New-York *Herald* a statement that I have seen in several papers, which you can now read:—

"LOUISIANA SLAVE LAWS.—A man named Hunter has been fined \$1,000, and forfeited six slaves at New-Orleans, for selling them in such a manner as to separate mother and child, contrary to the laws of Louisiana."

Thus it appears a master cannot abuse his slave and "humanity shudder only, yet he is his slave forever," and that there are laws to punish cruelty, and that they are enforced. I am not a lawyer, therefore I am not to be expected to quote "line upon line, and precept upon precept, here a little and there a little," but I am sure that a lawyer ought to know *something* of the Statute Laws of the country in which he lives; especially when he has been to Congress.

On page fourteen, you say it is fair to presume that one of the regulations of Jewish servitude was the right of the servant to leave the service of his master when cruelly treated. Compare this presumption with (1. *Peter*, ii.: 18-21.) And if there were any such regulations, the Apostle does not tell slaves to take advantage of them, but to "take it patiently."

As to the Fugitive Slave Law, we are not discussing that, neither are we discussing the right of a father to pursue his fugitive son and to prosecute those who harbor him. All that Dr. How attempted to prove was that to hold a slave was not a sin, and this assertion of his you have yourself admitted to be true in two places in your reply: First, when you speak of the "old and worn out slaves," and next when you say that God sanctioned slaveholding by Abraham.

And now we come to the "flimsy mantle" of Paul, as we have already disposed of that of Abraham. You assert that Dr. How did not find in Paul's epistle to Philemon that Onesimus "*ran away* from his master." Whether he *ran away*, or *walked away*, is not material, —certain it is that "he departed for a season," (*Phil.*: 1-5,) and Paul seemed to be in doubt as to the manner in which Philemon would treat Onesimus when he was sent back. He knew that the master had power to punish fugitive slaves, not only with scourges, but with death, (*Juvenal* vi: 219.) accordingly he used this language. (*Phil.*: 8-9.) "Wherefore, though I might be much bold in Christ to enjoin thee that which is convenient, yet for love's sake, I rather beseech *thee*," (15,) "for perhaps he therefore departed for a season, that thou shouldst receive him *forever*," (that is as long as he lived). But you say that he was now the "converted Christian, and was to be thenceforth not the servant or slave of any man." According to this then, you hold that when a slave becomes a Christian, he was to cease to be a slave. How does this agree with what you say on page eleven? I quote your words: "Christ and his Apostles never attempted to interfere with any of the *legal* enactments of the country." But here we find that you make Paul interfere with the legal enactments of the country, and set Onesimus free. Now which assertion is true? Did St Paul who was an Apostle set Onesimus free, because he had become a converted Christian, and thus interfere with the legal enactments of the country? Or did Christ and his Apostles never interfere with the legal enactments of the country? Which assertion do you take? What do you say? This uncertainty in your statement forcibly reminds me of the story of the old woman who was going to tell one of her friends how to judge of good indigo, or "blueing" as she called it. Now, said she,

"if you want to judge of good blueing, you must take the "blueing" and put it in a little bag, and drop the bag into the water in the wash-tub and if the blueing is good, either it will sink, or either it will swim, and raly I don't know which." Now Sir, are you willing your indigo-bag should sink with the assertion that "Christ and his Apostles never attempted to interfere with the legal enactments of the country," or to swim with the assertion that Onesimus was henceforth not to be a servant or a slave, because he was a converted Christian? If you are unwilling to sink with your first assertion and choose rather to swim with the last, please to let me know how it happened that Paul should let Onesimus be no longer a servant or slave, because he "was a brother beloved, a partaker of the benefit," when this same Paul in his Epistle to Timothy, (1. *Tim.* vi. : 1-5,) counsels Christian slaves thus: "Let as many servants as are under the *yoke*, count their own masters worthy of all honor, that the name of God and his gospel be not blasphemed; and they that have believing masters, let them not despise *them*, because they are brethren, but rather do them service, because they are faithful and beloved partakers of the benefit." But suppose Paul did set him free because he was a converted Christian, only *converted* slaves could plead Paul's practice should they ask to be set free.

I forgot to notice Hagar. The reason why God sent her back as given by you is "that she was to give birth to a child who was to be the father of a great nation and a partaker of the covenant." And is it not probable that God has a great work to accomplish in Africa through the instrumentality of converted Africans now held in bondage here? May not a nation be brought out of darkness into marvelous light, and "Ethiopia stretch forth her hands unto God." This is quite as probable as your reason why God sent back Hagar. But you ask, "admitting that Hebrew slavery was not sinful, how can that justify the hideous curse which hangs over this country." "Commenced in crime and carried out in the most merciless cruelty, shedding blight, mildew and decay over the land of its victims; constantly threatening dissolution, violence and civil war among the States, and making the nation a bye-word and a reproach in the face of the civilized world." This is answered easily; cruelty and abuse are never justified by God towards slaves; but the right to hold a slave has been justified by God. By the "hideous curse," I presume you mean the abuse of slaves; for without abuse it could hardly be a hideous curse. Dr. How did not attempt to justify abuse, he only contended that to hold a slave was not sinful: to abuse them is. But now we stand on the ground of your admission for sake of argument that to hold a slave among the Hebrews was not sinful. Why not admit that slave-holding in the United States where there are also laws forbidding cruelty, is not sinful. I think that is justification enough, unless Americans are to have less rights and fewer privileges than Hebrews, Israelites and Jews.

Do you despise America? Do you hate and spit upon the "Union?" Who spread blight and mildew in Africa, if it does exist there? It was the Africans *themselves*! The country is luxuriously rich, but the

people are depraved. From before the building of the Pyramids African has enslaved African, and Africans now enslave Africans. White men bought them already enslaved at home and brought them here as slaves. You also say, "Threatening disunion, violence and civil war among the States." Let the Southerners live in the enjoyment of the rights guaranteed by the Constitution and you will never hear of disunion, violence and civil war among the States. The cause of all of these evils, whether existing, threatened, or imagined, you charge upon the slaveholders and our glorious nation, and finish your tirade with asserting that we are "a bye-word and a reproach in the face of the civilized world." Your sympathies are always against the land of your birth. Is this the patriotism you boast? Is this the precept and the practice you pursue? You would withdraw our army when they had gained the Aztec Capital. They had done nobly, and had borne our country's flag aloft 'mid toil, disease and death :

"At Cerro Gordo, through the storm of bullets they had trod,
At Chernubuseo's flaming fight they bathed the field with blood,
And they had conquered everywhere where they had struck a blow,
And victors stood within the walls of haughty Mexico."

Mothers and wives, sweethearts and sisters' bosoms glowed with pride for them. But there was danger yet; they were but tens, the foemen thousands; their ships were far away upon the Gulf, the haughty foe unhumbled—scarce deigned to sue for peace. Then you stood up in Congress, in your place, and there betrayed the trust that Jersey men reposed in you, and sympathized with Mexicans whose tender mercies had been shown at Goliad, the Alamo and Santa Fe. They had commenced the war :

"Upon our soil they murdered the gallant Colonel Cross,
And Thornton's small command sustained a heavy loss,"

and now they offered no indemnity; you would withdraw our army then. And now you stand and charge the crimes of Africa upon our land, and sympathize with nations foreign to our soil—with proud, imperious England, whose crowned head drew revenue from that same trade they scoff at now; who paid no heed to Georgia and Virginia when they prayed to have the traffic stopped. But you must join with Britons and the foreign crowd who grind and trample white men in the dust.* Is this your love of country? Away with such! Here are your resolutions, let us see what was thought of them :—

The following are the resolutions of Mr. Van Dyke—his "unmagnanimous resolutions"—from the *New-Brunswick Times*, Dec. 29, 1847:

Resolved, That in the opinion of this House, the order of the Government that Gen. Taylor, with his army, should take position on the bank of the Rio Grande, which resulted in the blockade of that river and the pointing of the guns of the United States upon a Mexican town on the other side, was unnecessary and unwise—was an act of aggression within itself, and the immediate cause of conflict between the two nations.

* See the White Slaves of England, by Cobden.

Resolved, That the invasion of Mexican Territories south and west of the Rio Grande, either by sea or by land, and the storming or capturing of her towns, and the slaying of the people within such territories, are acts of injustice, cruelty and wrong; and that the requiring of Mexico, at the peril of her national existence to enter into treaty or stipulation with us while her country is surrounded by our navy, her capital and chief towns in our possession, her country subjugated, and her people crushed and prostrated beneath our power, and with our resistless cannon frowning upon her, and our conquering sword gleaming above her, is unreasonable and unfair towards Mexico as one of the contracting powers, and unmagnanimous and unchristian in us.

Resolved, That the present war with Mexico should not be prosecuted any further for any purpose whatever,—that the whole of our forces in the Mexican country should be withdrawn as quickly as possible, and placed on territory which belongs to this country, and that the administration be furnished with all the men and money necessary to protect our troops now in Mexico, and to accomplish such withdrawal in the most practical way, and without harm or danger.

Resolved, That after the withdrawal of our troops aforesaid, east of the Rio Grande, the President of the United States be requested to send a commissioner or commissioners, to Mexico to settle the question of boundary, with such other questions as may probably come before them as a committee.

I will insert the notice made at that time in the *Trenton Daily News*, entitled

“A VOICE FROM MEXICO.”

“We mean no disrespect to the Hon. John Van Dyke, of the third district, when we allege that the resolutions which he had the temerity to submit to Congress, and which we give below, may be regarded both in letter and spirit the general voice of Mexico.—They contain the same violent crimination of the United States, and the same warm sympathies for the nation of Guerillos which pervade the pronunciamientos of the Mexican leaders from Santa Anna to Paredes. They advocate the most favorable mode of concluding the war that has been broached by any of the enemy’s statesmen; and if it were possible for the American nation to carry them into practice, the Mexicans, and not we, would be the gainers by a war brought on by their outrages, and in which our armies have been so eminently victorious. We congratulate the Mexican nation then in having at least one representative upon the floor of Congress in the person of Mr. Van Dyke, and only regret that so *patriotic* a State as New-Jersey should have to bear the reproach of furnishing the traitor of his country’s fame, honor and interest.”

The Jersey Blues did and do repudiate these sentiments. The resolutions passed at public meetings in our State were read and are known of all men. I will give but one more extract showing the feeling the resolutions produced in a neighboring State. The *Pennsylvanian* in noticing the “unmagnanimous resolutions” said:—

“Well done, Mr. Van Dyke. The State you represent in part will thank you for the compliment that you pay to your country. The gallant dead that repose beneath her sacred soil are honored by your patriotic courage; Princeton and Yorktown will ring your praise, and your name will live as long as the Delaware hurries its waters to the ocean, or while history tells of Washington and his victories. A statesman so wise—a patriot so fearless—is worthy of being cherished and sustained. Mr. Van Dyke should be sent forthwith to Mexico to consummate a peace. He would be so true to his country, and so fair to Mexico. Before his mighty voice our armies would return to the bank of the Neuces. SCOTT would kneel at his feet. TAYLOR would kiss the hem of his diplomatic robes. He would be waited upon by great captains, and followed by crowds of grateful Mexicans. We fear the air of his country will spoil him, and it would be a nation’s loss to lose VAN DYKE!!!”

But, to proceed with your argument, you say “It is useless to tell me that masters are kind, and that the slaves are happy and contented. Their contentment is shown by the thousands who every year brave every hardship and every danger in making their escape from bondage.” “Thousands every year.” That is an assertion. Now look at a fact.

See Compendium U. S. Census, Table XLIV. :—Manumitted and Fugitive Slaves in 1850. Manumitted, 1,467 ; Fugitive, 1,011. Thus we see in 1850 456 more slaves were liberated by masters kind enough to free them, than there were who ran away from masters, some no doubt kind, although most may not have been. Where are the *thousands* you speak of? There are more children who run away from their parents, and soldiers and sailors who desert from the army and their ships, I venture the assertion, than 1,011 twice told. But that is no argument to prove that the relation of parent and child, officer and soldier and sailor, is a sinful relation ; or that master and slave is a sinful relation. Neither does it follow that it is a sin to have children and an army and navy because children run away and soldiers and sailors desert.

You ask “what becomes of kindness and humanity when passion and power are united together.” Why Sir, when passion and power are united together and are exhibited at one time, abuses of power arise ; but because power is abused by some, is no reason that it is a sin to have power. The sin lies in the abuse of the power. In order to fasten the exhibition of passion upon the possession of power, you have got to show that passion comes of *necessity*, from the possession of power, and is inseparable from it and partakes of its nature. Is it a general rule that powerful men are passionate, and that they abuse the power? Surely you cannot prove this ; then why argue against power as sinful because passionate men abuse their power. Why say it is a sin to hold slaves, because passionate masters abuse their slaves, and not say it is a sin to have and hold a son until 21 years of age, because passionate fathers abuse their sons. Undoubtedly it is a sin to abuse any one, yet it is no sin to have power. The sin lies in the abuse of the power. Another assertion of yours is, that Dr. How was a clergyman, therefore in the South as at the North, they “laid aside their vices and crimes” and put on their best behavior in the presence of the “dominie.” So in the South, “no man ever carried his slave into your presence to be lashed, &c.” This is in a measure true, and is a good example to prove the truth of what Dr. How asserts, and what you do not deny, that Christianity softens the rigor of the master by curbing his passions, and lightens the burdens of the slave. Therefore philanthropists ought not to throw obstacles in the way of Christians, and refuse to hold connection with them, and thus discourage Christ’s ministers, and destroy their influence for good upon master and slave.

You also assert that you have seen slaves sold at the South to the highest bidder, no matter whom it might be, to be carried by him whithersoever he might think proper, and be subjected without restraint to whatever hardship and cruelty his whim and malice might suggest or invent. Can you in the presence of the searcher of hearts, the God of truth, make such an assertion. You must know on reflection, that they cannot take them wheresoever they please, and that some of their laws forbid cruelty, I have just shown.

You do not deny that Christianity ameliorates the condition of the

slave ; and you assert that "if slavery be so great an 'evil' with all the mitigating influence of Christianity upon it, God only can tell what it would be without it ; but this is nothing in favor of a system scarcely endurable with such an influence." What it would be without the gospel, man can tell also . Look at Africa, see its abuses there, and we can say that the gospel has rendered negro slavery easier in the United States than in Africa. Thus much can be said in favor of American negro slavery. And it can well be said that it is better to preach Christ and him crucified, than to preach abolitionism and such abstract human rights as have no foundation in fact, when the preaching of the first has mitigated the abuses of slavery, and the preaching of the last has only tightened his bonds. And now for the conclusion. Addressing Dr. How, you say, "As you have delivered your argument twice, and written it out once, you will not care probably to travel over the ground again, but if at the next General Synod you shall think proper to discuss the other features of the peculiar and patriarchal institution, I may find it expedient to continue the subject." Dr. How has *not* delivered his argument *twice*, but you have printed your reply twice, once in a pamphlet, and once in the *Fredonian*, and there will be no necessity for him to travel over his argument again, for you have placed no obstacle to be cleared away ; neither will Dr. How be a delegate to the next Synod, it not being his turn to go. Therefore, you may not, as far as he is concerned, find it expedient to continue the subject ; but if you should see fit to notice my answer to your reply, you will always find me ready to confute any arguments you may bring to prove that slaveholding is a sin.

Let us now see what the whole of your reply amounts to, and what it is good for ! You have asserted that to hold a slave is a sin, but never proved it. You have argued against the just and lawful use of slave labor, because some slaves have been abused. You have not distinguished between a sanction and a permission. You have entirely overlooked and mistaken the universal binding force of the tenth command, wherein man-servant and maid-servant are enumerated as property ; the Hebrew word for man-servant means a slave, and if God had not intended to mention slaves as property, He could, and doubtless would have used the Hebrew word that was applied to *hired servants*, and not have used the word by which the Israelites called their slaves, and understood as applied to bond-men and women, bought with money, as much their property as the slave at the South is the property of his master. You have proposed nothing to mitigate the condition of the slave you sympathize with so much, for you say with disdain that you are not an abolitionist. All you have done is this : you have abused your Southern fellow-citizens, and have tried to cast discredit upon, as you say the "land of the free and the home of the slave." The way in which you make assertions without proof is appalling ; the manner in which you misconstrue Dr. How, and the illogical conclusions you draw, and your modest assurance have afforded me much amusement and laughter. Indeed, all the good that can be de-

rived from your pamphlet is to enjoy a laugh over and at it; and that it is useful to have something to laugh at was acknowledged as far back as the time of the flood or universal deluge, for it is said that Noah was about to exclude the peacock from the ark because he would take up too much room on account of his great strutting and tail-spreading propensities, but his scruples were at length overcome, and the Peacock admitted at the solicitation of the Owl, who said if the Peacock was good for nothing else he would do for a laughing-stock for the rest of the animals.

If you should write again please to show one command of God forbidding the holding of a slave, and pronouncing it a sin. Where there is no law there is no transgression; for sin is a transgression of the law, and as there is no law forbidding slaveholding, but God has sanctioned it, I conclude with the assertion and the fact that

SLAVEHOLDING IS NOT SINFUL.

Yours respectfully,

HENRY K. HOW.

P. S.—Writing at my place of business, interrupted at least one hundred times, at the expiration of one week from its commencement, I concluded this answer, and hoped in a few days to have had the pleasure to furnish you with a copy, but unavoidable hindrances beyond my control and the control of the printer of the pamphlet, has delayed its appearance until now, the eleventh of April. During this delay, one fact has come under my notice, it is this: although four weeks have elapsed since your "Reply" was ushered into the world, addressed to Dr. How by name, and written to him personally, still you have not as yet had the politeness to send him a copy. I have endeavored not to be guilty of this breach of etiquette, and have therefore deposited in the post office, directed to your address, the first completed copy of my answer, which I hope you will receive. Yours, &c.,

H. K. H.





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